1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans- 633 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from • 494 Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway 496 which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railroad (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line 633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities, 369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in 291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark 142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and mestiço vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in 633 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages) 495 161

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633 495 161 to service the hundreds of trucks and busses which are transforming the transportation of the interior. Both cities reflected their growing function by a great increase in population between 1940 and 1950.

633 [162] Cachoeira-São Félix, 16,697 people in 1950,[34] and Santo Amaro, 12,258 people in 1950, are respectively the fourth and fifth largest cities in the Recôncavo and the eighth and tenth largest cities in Bahia. [443] Both of these cities are important agricultural and marketing centers within the Recôncavo, and both are notable historical centers. Santo Amaro was the great local social and economic focus of the slave-holding engenho sugar culture of the Central Recôncavo. Cachoeira was the major local center of the Western Recôncavo and of the tobacco economy throughout colonial times. While these cities maintain some of their former importance, they are mainly cities of the past, growing at a much slower rate than most urban centers. Both cities 633 496 lie at or near the head of navigation,[35] and both are on the rail- 494 road which runs from Salvador to the western interior. The construction of the railroad and the development of automotive transport apparently have been important factors in the declining importance of these cities, for it is no longer necessary to trans-ship goods brought down from the interior into boats at these places. The 633 railroads and trucks move the goods directly to Salvador.[36] At present [565] these cities function as local trade centers, as minor industrial centers--Cachoeira-São Félix in tobacco; Santo Amaro in sugar--and as the residences of decadent upper class families whose fortunes declined with the disappearance of the slave-holding agricultural systems.

The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

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249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that 245 439 the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao 491 zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo. 489 494 It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

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443 [452] [427] Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week. Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro, and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For [489] [494] example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Agua de Meninos [505] in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold [489] [494] here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains, and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market. It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets which usually are open for part of each day.

442 443 233 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.[1] Because the

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

as a ton of cane through the rain-softened clay. It is pulled, depending upon the load and the condition of the route, by four, six, or eight oxen. It has no brakes, although occasionally a long pole is used as a drag. The cart and the team are managed by two people, a man who rides the cart, goads the wheel oxen, and shouts directions, and a boy who runs in front and turns the lead oxen with a long slender pole. As has been seen, a very large number of oxen are maintained on the sugar cane plantations and the accessory ranches of the area. Donkeys are used in the cane area for lesser tasks, such as carrying seed cane, tools, and subsistence products; both horses and mules are used for riding--usually the plantation foremen ride the patient, slow-moving mules, while the owners and administrators ride the small, agile horses which come from the sertão. In most other parts of the Recôncavo, in the littoral forest and in the dry caatinga, the donkey and mule are the universal beasts of burden.

One município of the Recôncavo--Coração de Maria--has no motor roads, and is thus served only by pack animals. The cidades of all the other municípios are on highways of some sort, but usually only a single road passes directly across the município. The back-country of the municípios, which in this sense includes about nine-tenths of the total area, is criss-crossed with a network of trails. Some of these are wide enough for an ox cart, or in very good weather, for a jeep to pass through. Many others are only narrow paths winding through the second growth and passing between cultivated fields.

Land transportation between the various parts of the Recôncavo has less direct agricultural importance than in the United States, since so much of the agricultural produce is consumed within the município in which it is grown. Those agricultural products, such as tobacco or sugar, which are destined for non-local or external markets are

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497 usually carried by rail or by automotive transport. The operation of
494 the economy of the Recôncavo seems to require a constant movement of merchants, fazendeiros (landowners) and agents between the various cidades, and between the lesser urban centers and Salvador or Feira de Santana.

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497 The two railroad systems which serve the Recôncavo and the adjoining areas are both narrow-gauge lines. The most extensive system belongs to the Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro, called the "Leste." It is part of a larger network which, in theory, connects Rio de Janeiro and the rest of the Central-South with the Northeast as far as Maceió in the state of Alagoas. Within the Recôncavo the main lines of the Leste stretch out from Salvador northward through Alagoinhas and westward through Cachoeira. A branch line of the latter runs to Feira de Santana.

The Estrada de Ferro Nazaré railroad crosses only the corner of the Recôncavo, but it runs for a long distance near the southwestern perimeter. The line begins at Jequié in the coffee zone and terminates at the cidade of Nazaré and at São Roque on the estuary of the Rio
[505] Paraguaçu below Maragogipe. These two terminals are connected to Salvador by motor vessels which attempt to coordinate their schedules with the trains. A rail link between the Nazaré line at Santo Antônio and the Leste at Cruz das Almas has been under construction for some years.

493 Most of the rolling stock of the Leste is archaic, but the
497 Nazaré line has relatively good equipment. The woodburning locomotives used by both railroads are small but are kept in good repair and operate with reasonable efficiency. They are cheap and flexible to operate and, in view of the limited fuel resource of Brazil, seem almost ideal. The Leste has a diesel engine for the passenger train which operates between

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493 Salvador and Feira de Santana, via Santo Amaro and São Gonçalo. The
497 Leste also has a special train of relatively modern type which runs from Salvador to Aracaju in Sergipe. As soon as electric power from the newly constructed dam at Paulo Alfonso on the Rio São Francisco is available, the Leste expects to electrify the line from Salvador through Alagoinhas. One of the most critical shortcomings of both lines is the very poor condition of the roadbed, so that derailments are relatively frequent.

497 Railroad fares are extremely cheap by the standards of the United States, so that for one or two dollars it is possible to travel all the way across the Recôncavo. Although there are many agriculturalists who cannot afford even these fares, rail transportation is within the means of merchants and buyers of the "service segment" of the agricultural population. Freight rates are higher but generally not excessive. However, there are many irregularties in the assessment of freight charges, and service is very slow.

The passenger operations of the Leste give relatively good service to the Central and Northwestern Recôncavo. In other parts of the Recôncavo the desultory passenger service of the Leste is little used.

• [494] It is difficult to estimate the exact relative importance of railroads vis à vis trucks as freight carriers, but there is every indication that trucks carry most of the agricultural goods which are transported for long distances over the land. However, the railroads, which are
249 government owned, operate without regard to profit or loss. The main
499 and branch lines of the Leste play an important role in the sugar industry of Santo Amaro and western São Sebastião. The government tracks and the tracks of a number of private lines joined to them are used to haul cane from the plantations to the large usinas. The cane, which is delivered to the railroad line in ox carts, is hauled to the usina

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the highway. In recent years the government-owned oil company has been drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

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493 products which are carried from the various inland municípios of the region to Salvador and Feira de Santana are transported on trucks. These trucks pick up their loads at the weekly markets or at warehouses in the various cidades. Frequently they carry passengers as well as cargo, and the cheapest passenger service in the Recôncavo is to be found high on top of a heavily laden truck. It is especially common to seem trucks loaded with bags of farinha de mandioca speeding over the rough roads with the cab packed and the less fortunate passengers enduring the dust or the rain outside. Most agricultural laborers seem to travel in this fashion on longer journeys within the region. Many trucks operate on an unscheduled basis from cidade to cidade, accumulating loads without pre-arrangement. However, there is some regularized service, for it is a general practice for trucks from all over the Recôncavo to travel to Feira de Santana on its market day, and the more important markets of other cidades are also served by trucks on a regular but informal basis. Each of these trucks has its destination marked on the window and collects a load of goods and people as it passes across the region. The cost of this means of transport to the individual depends upon the distance he travels and the amount of goods which he carries. Thus both truck and bus transportation play a major role in the marketing system of the Recôncavo, each carrying both goods and passengers.

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438 One of the basic handicaps of automotive transport in the Recôncavo is that each município taxes the passage of goods transported on its roads. The repeated taxation of goods as they are moved across the boundaries of municípios may make it unprofitable for the agriculturalist to sell many of his products in the other markets of the region. Moreover, the lengthy stops required at each município boundary effectively slow down the movement of trucks and, to a lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

494 lesser extent, of goods-carrying busses. Another delay in movement of
493 goods results from frequent breakdowns. A large number of broken down trucks are to be seen along the side of any of the highways of the Recôncavo. The most direct cause of these breakdowns is the universal practice of heavily overloading trucks--extra springs and blocks have been added so that they can carry enormous loads, but frequently the axles and tires fail on the rough roads. A contributing factor in the breakdowns is probably the scarcity and high cost of new parts.

Many merchants, buyers, and prosperous farmers make use of an additional passenger service which is provided between the urban centers of the region by automobiles in what might be described as a corbination limousine and zone taxicab service. These taxicabs wait in a conspicuous spot, usually near the square of the city, with their destination and the total fare for the trip painted on the windshield. A perspective rider may pay the entire fare himself, wait for others who will share the expense, or himself secure other passengers. The fares are standardized, and the system is particularly oriented toward the important markets of the region.

505 The centrally located Baía de Todos os Santos and its estuaries are very important in the transport of both goods and people within the Recôncavo. A most conspicuous and universal sight is the myriad of sailing vessels which transport large quantities of agricultural products across the Bay to Salvador. There is no way of estimating the importance of this traffic in relation to the total amount of goods carried, but the vessels (saveiros) can hold as much as four or five
[501] tons of cargo. These boats are heavy timbered, open decked sailing vessels with a single mast—they do not sail well except before the wind, and therefore their trips are timed according to the direction of the wind. The saveiros seem to be very hardy and able to survive

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent. [362] [571] [493] [494] [484]

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To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

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Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[11] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[11] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.